4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Can-
632 cuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaquitepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

• 18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
861 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marín in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

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I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

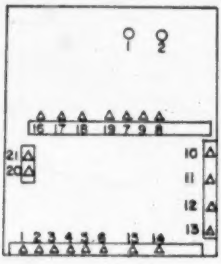

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Sčebal tme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakramentú)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Sčebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yalebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Balnial Alpultero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

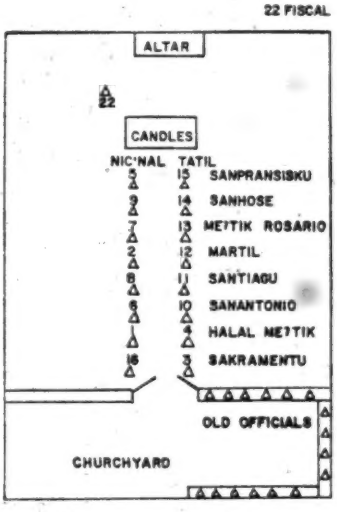

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

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